

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 065221
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

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APPROVED BY IO:CWMAYNES
AF:RMOOSE
S/S: SRPVALERGA

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ACCRA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PORT LOUIS PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 065221

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, UNSC, SO, ET

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL ACTION ON THE HORN

REF: A) USUN 894 (NOTAL), B) LAGOS 3180 (NOTAL), C) ADDIS
1173 (NOTAL), D) MOGADISCIO 509 (NOTAL) E) ADDIS 1163
(NOTAL)

1. FOR LAGOS: YOU SHOULD URGENTLY APPROACH THE FMG AT THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE LEVEL TO DISCUSS THE UNFOLDING SITUATION IN THE HORN OF AFRICA. FROM CONTACTS WITH GARBA IN NEW YORK, WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE NIGERIANS INCREASINGLY ARE VIEWING THE MEETING OF THE OAU GOOD OFFICES COMMITTEE THIS WEEK AS THE FINAL STAGE OF OAU INVOLVEMENT. ON MARCH 11, GARBA INDICATED TO THE SECRETARY THAT IF THE OAU WAS UNABLE TO ACT AT THAT MEETING NIGERIA WOULD BE PREPARED TO SEE THE SECURITY COUNCIL ACT. SINCE THEN, AS HE HAS LEARNED OF ETHIOPIA'S OPPOSITION TO COUNCIL ACTION, HE HAS SPOKEN OF NIGERIA BEING ABSOLVED OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY. THIS MAY LEAD TO BACK-TRACKING ON THE ISSUE OF MOVING THE QUESTION TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

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2. YOU SHOULD INFORM FMG THAT ETHIOPIANS HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY CANNOT ATTEND OAU GOOD OFFICES COMMITTEE MEETING IN LAGOS MARCH 16 AND WISH POSTPONEMENT UNTIL APRIL. YOU

SHOULD ASK IF NIGERIA HAS BEEN INFORMED OF THIS AND, IF SO, HOW THIS AFFECTS THEIR VIEW OF UNSC ACTION.

3. WE BELIEVE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, NOW THAT THE SOMALI INVASION IS AT AN END, SHOULD MOVE VIGOROUSLY TO ENCOURAGE BOTH SIDES TO BEGIN TO RECONCILE THEIR DIFFERENCES SO THAT THE VOLATILE HORN DISPUTE WILL NOT AGAIN CONFRONT THE WORLD COMMUNITY WITH A SERIOUS THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. WE DO NOT, THEREFORE, BELIEVE THAT OAU AND UN EFFORTS ARE LESS URGENT. THE CONTRARY IS TRUE. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT IT IS URGENT EITHER THAT THE OAU TAKE EFFECTIVE ACTION THIS WEEK OR THAT IT AGREES TO MOVE THE ISSUE TO THE SC, EITHER BY THE AFRICANS CALLING FOR A MEETING OR BY THEIR AGREEING TO VOTE FOR INSCRIPTION IF WESTERN SC MEMBERS CALL FOR A MEETING.

4. YOU SHOULD POINT OUT THAT ACCORDING TO OUR INFORMATION

WITHDRAWAL OF SOMALI MILITARY FORCES IS VIRTUALLY COMPLETE. WE HAVE NO REPORTS OF REPRISALS. MOREOVER, THE ETHIOPIAN REPRESENTATIVE IN NEW YORK IS RECOMMENDING TO ADDIS THAT IT FAVOR THE ARRIVAL OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE TO WORK WITH THE REFUGEES IN THE AREA. BUT:

-- THE SITUATION REMAINS HIGHLY VOLATILE;

-- THE ROOTS OF THE CONFLICT REMAIN UNTOUCHED;

-- THE LIKELIHOOD THAT ALL SIDES WILL SHOW RESTRAINT WILL BE GREATER IF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY REMAINS INVOLVED.

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-- EVEN IF BOTH SIDES AGREE TO PERMIT REPRESENTATIVES FROM HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS TO VISIT THE AREA, THE CONDITIONS OF THEIR INVOLVEMENT ARE LIKELY TO BE MORE SECURE AND EFFECTIVE IF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE CAN BE PROVIDED UNDER A UN UMBRELLA.

-- SYG WALDHEIM HAS TOLD THE SECRETARY THAT HE BELIEVES INTERNATIONAL ACTION IS CALLED FOR AND THAT THIS COULD FACILITATE UN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

-- IF THE SC WERE TO TAKE ACTION, WE BELIEVE THIS MIGHT SERVE TO IMPROVE THE PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS FOR THE OAU MEDIATION COMMITTEE BY MAKING THE PARTIES MORE READY TO MEET UNDER OAU AUSPICES, WHICH FROM THE US POINT OF VIEW WOULD BE A DESIRABLE OUTCOME EVEN IF THE SC GOT NOWHERE.

5. IN OUR VIEW, ACTION BY THE OAU OR THE COUNCIL COULD INVOLVE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

A. A CALL FOR A CEASE-FIRE AT THE BORDER;

B. AN END TO EXTERNALLY SPONSORED INSURGENCY;

C. RECOGNITION OF EXISTING BORDERS;

D. THE APPOINTMENT OF AN OAU OR SYG REPRESENTATIVE TO ASSIST THE TWO GOVERNMENTS IN MOBILIZING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND IN GETTING TALKS GOING (GIVEN THE FACT ETHIOPIA STRONGLY RESISTS ANY OBSERVER FORCE AND SOMALIA IS APPARENTLY UNCONCERNED ABOUT THIS ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM NOW THAT ITS WITHDRAWAL IS VIRTUALLY COMPLETE, THE STABILIZING EFFECT OF AN OBSERVER FORCE MIGHT NOW BEST BE ACHIEVED THROUGH INTERNATIONALLY SPONSORED HUMANITARIAN
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MISSIONS TO DETERMINE THE NEEDS OF THE WAR RAVAGED
POPULATION TO THE OGADEN.)

6. FOR MOGADISCIO: YOU SHOULD DISCUSS WITH SIAD AGAIN
AS SOON AS POSSIBLE THE DESIRABILITY OF ACTING EITHER BY
THE OAU OR THE UN SC, SEEKING A COMMITMENT THAT SOMALIA
WOULD SUPPORT--OR AT LEAST NOT OPPOSE--SUCH ACTION. YOU
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ACTIVELY OPPOSING UN INVOLVEMENT OUR EFFORTS TO BUILD
DIPLOMATIC AND HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT FOR SOMALIA WILL BE
SEVERELY CRIPPLED.

7. FOR ADDIS: YOU MAY DRAW ON ABOVE IN BRIEFING EPMG,
STRESSING THAT WE ARE NOT ADVOCATING OAU OR UN ACTION
DIRECTED AGAINST ETHIOPIA IN ANY FASHION. YOU SHOULD SEEK
THEIR VIEWS ON THE ELEMENTS OF OAU OR UN ACTION IN PARA 5
ABOVE.

8. FOR LIBREVILLE: YOUR APPROACH TO BONGO SHOULD BE
ALONG THE ABOVE LINES, RATHER THAN THOSE EARLIER CONVEYED
IN STATE 63447.

9. FOR BONN, PARIS, OTTAWA, LONDON: PLEASE BRIEF HOST
GOVERNMENTS ALONG ABOVE LINES.

10. FOR USUN: YOU SHOULD ACTIVELY SOLICIT SUPPORT FOR OUR
POSITION WITH GARBA, OTHER SC MEMBERS, AND KEY AFRICANS.
YOU SHOULD ADVISE ETHIOPIAN AND SOMALI PERM REPS OF OUR
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PAGE 01 STATE 065221
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

66011
DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:RLBARRY
APPROVED BY IO/UNP:RLBARRY

S/S:MVKENNEDY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 065221

EXDIS

FOL RPT STATE 065111 ACTION LAGOS LIBREVILLE BONN ADDIS ABABA
LONDON PARIS MOGADISCIO OTTAWA USUN NEW YORK INFO ABIDJAN ACCRA
CARACAS DAR ES SALAAM ISLAMABAD JIDDA KHARTOUM KINSHASA KUWAIT
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UNQUOTE VANCE

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Message Attributes

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Draft Date: 14 mar 1978
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Litigation History:
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Review Exemptions: n/a
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Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CHANGED> MCM 20040624
Subject: MULTILATERAL ACTION ON THE HORN
TAGS: PDEV, SO, ET, UNSC
To: LAGOS LIBREVILLE MULTIPLE
Type: TE
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Review Markings:
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